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ABSTRACT

Relationships between mass-media coverage of international affairs and university-based expertise in international, language, and area studies are investigated. The report is presented in three major sections. Section I poses issues for debate: How important is media in informing the American public about world affairs? Does it really matter if people are informed? and How can the autonomy and integrity of the media be maintained? Ideas for action are also posed and include improving survey data about interest in international news, presenting the local angle on international news, and encouraging media cooperation with world affairs experts in universities. Section II explores the connection between the media and universities in international affairs. Topics discussed include strengthening the connection, improving career education in media-related fields, and reviewing research on the media and on international affairs. Section III relates American understanding of world problems to the media and to institutions of higher education. The conclusion is that area and language studies have improved greatly in recent years but that not enough attention has been paid to the professional information needs of journalists and others in the field of mass media. A bibliography concludes the report. (DB)

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OPENING OR CLOSING OUR WINDOW ON THE WORLD?

The Media and the Academy in International Affairs

by

Ward Morehouse

December 1979

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Preface

The project on which this report is based was undertaken by the Council on International and Public Affairs with support under the Foreign Language and Area Studies Research Program of the U.S. Office of Education Division of International Education. Its purpose has been to shed light on relationships between the mass media and their coverage of international affairs on the one hand and university-based expertise in international, language, and area studies on the other, as well as to suggest concrete ways in which this interrelationship might become more fruitful and significant.

A formal project report, describing major activities and accomplishments of the project is being issued separately. A limited number of copies are available from the Council at the address on page ii. The present report deals with substantive issues addressed during the project.

An interim version of this report was issued in February 1979 to encourage discussion about issues and ideas then emerging from the project. The interim report also served as a discussion paper at sessions on the reporting of international affairs in the U.S. media which were organized as part of the work of the project at the annual meeting of the International Studies Association in Toronto on March 23, Los Angeles at the Association for Asian Studies on March 30, Pittsburgh at the Latin American Studies Association on April 6, and Los Angeles at the African Studies Association on November 3, 1979.

The interim report also served as a discussion paper at the Consultation on the Media and the Academy in International Affairs which was held on September 14-15, 1979 at the Twin Lakes Conference Center of the American Universities Field Staff in Salisbury, Connecticut, under the auspices of the project. An additional and invaluable opportunity to discuss many of the questions raised in the report was provided by the annual Strategy for Peace Conference of the Stanley Foundation held at Airlie House in Airlie, Virginia in October 1979. The conference program included a separate discussion group which met for the duration of the three-day conference to explore the role of the mass media in U.S. foreign policy.

I have been assisted in the project by two research assistants - initially, Mona Hochberg, and more recently, Mark S. Callahan. The latter has taken responsibility for preparing the appendices to this report. The informal Media

and International Affairs Group* has met from time to time to discuss issues related to the project, and individual members of the group have provided helpful counsel and advice on a variety of other occasions.

An important aspect of the work of the project has been seeking ideas and experiences from the academy - both faculty in language, area, and international studies programs, and those involved in professional training of journalists in schools and departments of journalism and mass communications. Many have written thoughtfully and candidly, some at considerable length, regarding the questions to which this project has sought to address itself. Equally important have been the ideas and suggestions from the professional journalists who have been consulted during the course of the project. They have given generously of their time and experience in covering international affairs.

I am grateful to the foregoing individuals and institutions for their assistance. However, the views expressed in this interim report, except where specifically ascribed to others, are entirely my own.

Ward Morehouse
Project Director

New York
30 December 1979

Note: A few references were added and minor revisions made in the text in January 1980 after a draft of this version of the report had been reproduced and circulated for comment at the end of December.

W.M.
Ahmedabad, 29 January 1980

*The members of the Media and International Affairs Group are: Alfred Balk, Editor and Publisher, Atlas: World Press Review (former Editor, Columbia Journalism Review); Ainslie T. Embree Counselor for Cultural Affairs, American Embassy, New Delhi (former Associate Dean, Columbia University School of International Affairs, on leave from his university); Peter Bird Martin, Executive Director, Institute of Current World Affairs and American Universities Field Staff (formerly with Time, Inc.); Ward Morehouse, President, Council on International and Public Affairs; Richard H. Holte, Executive Vice-President, Hamilton, Johnston and Co. (former Executive Director, Institute of Current World Affairs and Alicia Patterson Foundation); Robert Oxnam, Vice-President and Program Director of the China Council of the Asia Society; and Joseph E. Green, Jr., President of the Seven Springs Center.

OPENING OR CLOSING OUR WINDOW ON THE WORLD?

The Media and the Academy in International Affairs

I Issues For Debate and Ideas For Action

A. Issues for Debate

1. Are the media the most important window on the world for the American public?

Barry Rubin of Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies thinks so:

> Not only have foreign news stories been at the center of many media controversies, but there is also a greater dependence on the media from the audience in this area - they generally have more direct knowledge and experience for evaluating events closer to home. Foreign affairs have become considerably more complex, faster-moving, and weighty in our society, as the impact of raw materials' price increases has demonstrated. With the government's "credibility gap" and the press's high rating for reliability in public opinion polls...,the media have become the most important single institution in shaping our views of the outside world. (Emphasis supplied.)1/

2. Is the media window on the world opening or closing?

The answer appears to be yes and no, not unlike the popular metaphor about optimism and pessimism. Some see the bottle as half full, even if it may not be getting any fuller:

> At their best, American television, radio and the press perform extraordinary educational services in the tangled forest of world affairs. Extended news coverage of fast-breaking events, indepth analysis of important developments by expert panels or by informed columnists and commentators, rich documentaries, weekly or other periodic reviews giving a time perspective to daily happenings--these and other techniques are to inform and educate the public.2/

Others would argue that the bottle is half empty and appears to becoming rapidly emptier. Consider these indicators:

1. According to a 1973 UNESCO survey of 100 countries, only between one and two percent of the average television week on commercial and public television in the United States is devoted to international programs. This was the lowest average of any of the countries surveyed.3/

2. The current average newspaper coverage of international events equals no more than one-half of one column of newsprint per day. Only a handful of U.S. newspapers have full-time foreign affairs reporters. Fewer than 24 have any staff specialist in the area of international affairs.4/

3. A recent Fairleigh Dickinson University study indicates that only 17 percent of the news columns in American newspapers are devoted to "foreign" news.5/

4. A trend is developing in many newspapers around the country to stress local news and cut national and foreign coverage the New York Times reported in 1975 after a nationwide survey of representative newspapers.6/

5. Of the five largest news agency correspondents throughout the world, 34 percent are in the United States, 28 percent in Europe, 17 percent in Asia and Australia, 11 percent in Latin America, 6 percent in the Middle East, and 4 percent in Africa. (These figures include not only the major American news agencies like Associated Press and United Press International but also principal foreign news agencies like Reuters and Agence France Press.)7/

6. The 429 full-time American correspondents in 1975 compared to 524 in 1972 and 563 in 1969. Thus, between 1969 and 1975 there was a 23 percent decline. When foreign nationals are included the decline is 28 percent. The year 1966 was the watershed, being the all-time post-World War Two peak.8/

It is just possible that the decline in foreign correspondents and/or foreign news coverage has bottomed out in the late 1970's and might even register a modest increase in the early 1980's. Among the straws in the wind:

1. The Knight-Ridder newspaper chain has decided to create its own network of foreign correspondents, reportedly linked, at least in part, to the ethnic interests of its readers.

2. The Gannett newspaper chain is said to be considering a similar step.

3. The Wall Street Journal's "foreign news coverage will become more comprehensive...toward the middle of the year [1980]... a reflection of the increasing impact of events overseas on American lives and American business."9/

There is, of course, a prior question. Even if the media have a declining capacity for and are giving decreasing attention to the rest of the world, perhaps the American people, through one means or another, still manage to keep themselves reasonably well informed. Alas, there are suggestions - not necessarily a conclusive picture - that all is not well on this count either. Here are some indicators of public understanding of international affairs (which are as much an indictment of the formal educational system as they are of the mass media):

1. While a recent study of citizen education in ten countries (Germany, Finland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Netherlands, New Zealand, Sweden and the United States) reports that 14 year olds in the United States rank at the top in knowledge of local, state, and national affairs, U.S. students are next to the bottom of the list in their knowledge of international institutions and processes.10/

2. A 1968 study found that less than one adult out of ten knew or was able to guess within a billion dollars the correct figure of the overall foreign aid budget. Similarly, only small minorities have known or guessed that foreign aid has constituted less than five percent of the national budget or less than one percent of GNP. Substantially similar findings were reported in a 1973 study.11/

3. A 1974 survey of a national sample of fourth, eighth, and twelfth grade students reported that only 37 percent of the twelfth graders tested (and only 23 percent of the eighth graders) were able to select the correct answer among four possible choices of the world's current population. Only one-quarter of the twelfth grade students (16 percent of eighth grade students) realized that a decreasing death rate has been the factor most responsible for the rapid growth in the world's population in this century. Just half of the twelfth graders (and only 40 percent of the fourth and eighth graders) designated Egypt correctly as an Arab country among four choices (Egypt, Israel, India, and Mexico), while 40 percent of the twelfth graders thought that Israel was an Arab country, and of the eighth graders more thought that Golda Meir was President of Egypt

than thought Anwar el-Sadat was. Fewer than 15 percent of the twelfth graders were able to identify China as the country which has experienced a cultural revolution in the late 1960's, while fewer than 12 percent knew that among four Middle Eastern countries, Egypt was the one which produced the least amount of oil.12/

3. Was the media window on the world ever open? Can we open it wider?

If it was open, it certainly was not open very wide, in the eyes of some critics. Nor are we likely, in the view of such critics, to open it much wider.

> There is a clear reason why foreign coverage has remained weak, despite the constant prodding of critics, academics, and journalists. One can endlessly tell the publisher or editor of a "mass" paper or television outlet about their product's shortcomings. As long as they are convinced that readers do not want changes or that better foreign reporting would be too expensive (or not cost-effective) their minds will not change.
>
> It is ironic that at a time when media exercise power and prestige far greater than in the past it is so necessary to remind them that their primary duty is to inform the public.13/

The preceding observation underscores the multi-faceted character of the situation confronting us. While there may be psychic pleasure for academics and others in castigating media gatekeepers for being parochial and ethnocentric, it is also clear that any medium of mass communication which ignores the interests of its audience would soon no longer have a mass audience. In short, this is a problem of both supply and demand.

There is some evidence that media gatekeepers may nonetheless be underestimating audience interest in foreign affairs. Louis Harris reports that while only five percent of news executives think the public is "greatly interested" in foreign news, 41 percent of the respondents to a Harris public opinion survey reported "deep interest" in such news.14/ Even granting the self-inflation factor in the latter figure (interest is likely to be more readily proclaimed than actual), the gap appears rather wide.

Be that as it may, it is important to note that the media play an important agenda-setting role in American society. If the media declare a subject as unimportant by giving little attention to it, the American public is more likely to conclude that that subject is not very important to it either.

Whatever may be the realities of the level of American interest in the rest of the world and media gatekeepers' perception of it, media resistance to various special pleaders for a bigger slice of the news hole, including advocates of more foreign news, argues for a tactical thrust toward opening the media window on the world wider qualitatively, rather than quantitatively. Improved quality will hopefully lead to greater demand, real and perceived, and that should result in greater quantity.

4. What role can and should the academy play in opening the media window on the world wider?

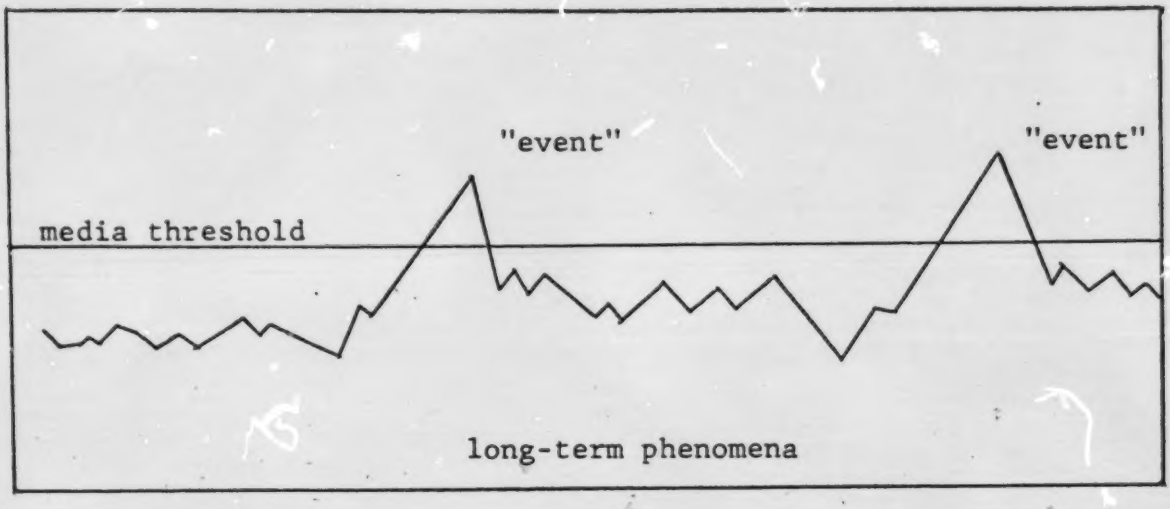
Can the academy do anything to open the media window on the world wider? Should it? The simple answer to the first question is yes. Indeed, universities already are the principal source of much of the professional training in journalism and formal study of world areas and international problems by American media professionals. They are also the principal source of whatever linguistic skills these professionals possess.

But there is another level at which this question can be considered. The answer lies, in this broader context, in a symbiotic relationship of the media and the formal educational system, reflected in this passage:

In a thoughtful comment on the limits of formal schooling in determining the global perspectives of Americans, Robert Hanvey observes that:

> Schools are hard put to match the drama and appeal of the mass media or the grip on behavior and attitude exerted by the peer group. Furthermore, whatever is learned while young is continuously reshaped by adult role experience. The world view of an American farmer will no doubt reflect his schooling to some extent but it is likely to be most importantly influenced by exigencies associated with his role as a farmer and by attitudes currently held by his most important reference group - other farmers.

Hanvey goes on to note that the mass media are event-centered, or as he puts it, "a volcano is of interest to them only when it erupts." The consequence of this circumstance is that public perceptions of important phenomena, to the degree that they are decisively shaped by the mass media, are limited in time and often distorted in character because they tend to focus on those aspects which are novel enough to rise above the media's "threshold of excitability." Graphically, Hanvey portrays the situation in this manner:



The event-centered character of the mass media poses particular difficulties in relation to enlarging public understanding of the key interdependence issues which are long-term in character and appear to require modifications in behavior and attitude now if adverse effects are going to be avoided far in the future. It is no doubt also true, as Hanvey suggests, that these issues, especially their long-term characteristics, are not intrinsically interesting to broad publics. And broad public interest is, after all, what keeps television, newspapers, and other mass media alive.15/

But there are other, less positive and possibly more realistic views of the media-academy relationship, suggesting that the academy is likely to have little impact on the media, the media are not much interested in help from the academy, and the academy has other higher priorities. Consider this comment by a "battle-scared" member of the academy:

> Much handling of world events by small-town media...is very diluted and often distorted. I feel that local newspapers and television cannot be of primary importance in strengthening our program, nor will we be more than marginally effective in altering their policies in the direction of richer, wiser, in-depth coverage... There is considerable editorial resistance to guidance by academic specialists; some of the papers with large circulation as a matter of policy, do not permit proof-reading of interviews conducted on campus (with local staff or guests). They believe (not all, but many editors) that their specifically journalistic wisdom must prevail over our alleged expertise; academic double-checking for error is just a damned pain in the neck.

> ...It is no doubt the media handling of Soviet life (predominantly the dissidents and emigres) which has persuaded our populace, not only youngsters, that the problems of East Europe are bleak, hopeless, and above all repellent. Most skilled high school teachers (whom we consult pretty regularly, and of late more systematically) prefer to minimize negative aspects of other societies and cultures for pedagogical effectiveness, basically for maintaining their own prolonged close rapport with classes. Most of my university colleagues, on the other hand, reasonably prefer to focus on harder truth and knottier complexities, contributing (I think inevitably) to the low return rate among our tendered enrollees.
>
> ...Generally, my feeling is that concern with the problem of opinion-making through mass media causes most academics to perform erratically, over-emotionally, less authoritatively. Most of us are unaccustomed to performance in this arena, but all too aware (if only semi-consciously) that another kind of performance is necessary, something distinctly different in tone and freedom from, say, classroom performance. In short, academic involvement in the mass media enterprise is by no means a simple thing, but emotional and problematic.
>
> ...Our activities with the media must be marginal to our instructional activity, given limitations, of budget, time, personnel, and experience. The most urgent problem we face, in our locality, for improving our own information service to the community, lies in the field of secondary school curriculum reform... I am not certain that the media can play any positive part in this matter, but they could definitely help effect a negative outcome... 16/

This skeptical and reluctant view of the media by the academy should be balanced by reference to much more positive experiences. The Institute of Latin American Studies at the University of Texas, by way of illustration, produces a weekly half-hour radio program on Latin America distributed by the Longhorn Radio Network to 74 stations in 27 states, has prepared half a dozen reports aired over the National Public Radio award-winning "All Things Considered" program (with an audience of six million), and in a single academic year (1978-79), was contacted by and assisted such diverse national and regional media organizations as CBS News, NBC News, Washington Post, Wall Street Journal, Dallas Times Herald. 17/ Other examples among several which might be cited for other world areas include the African Studies Center at Michigan State University and the China Council of the Asia Society, which makes extensive use of university-based China specialists in its media outreach activities.

What appears to characterize these more successful academy-media relationships is continuity of effort by the academy in responding to and striving to understand the media's needs

without abandoning scholarly integrity, leading to mutual acceptance and trust over time. Above all else, the media must see themselves as initiating and defining the relationship.

5. What about maintaining the autonomy and integrity of the media?

There is an important ancillary - some within the media would argue central - issue reflected in the preceding paragraphs about the resistance of the media to "advice" and "assistance," regardless of intent from academic specialists in world regions and problems. That issue can be summed up in a series of questions: Who is trying to do what to the media at whose instigation and with whose support and encouragement? To maintain its autonomy and integrity, the press (broadly defined to include broadcast as well as print journalism) is understandably resistant to offers of help and other forms of intervention by "special interest," no matter how honorable are the motives with which these interests cloth themselves.18/

Nowhere is this issue brought into sharper focus than in relationships between government and the media. The tradition of a free press independent of government control is well established in our country, although the task of defending the First Amendment rights of the press is never ending and there is evidence to suggest that these rights are under particularly heavy assault at the present time. It is clear that the media will not be responsive to government-financed schemes, no matter how worthwhile they seem to be, which would diminish sharply the distance the media have historically maintained between themselves and the government.19/

The government, however, is the principal patron of schemes to enlarge public understanding and academic and other professional competence in international affairs (including the project under which this report is being proposed). This situation invites a series of questions surely worthy of further discussion:

Under what circumstances does the historic distance between the press and the government become so diminished as to threaten the freedom of the press? (The Washington Post management debated this question when one of its journalists was offered a fellowship at a university financed by the National Endowment for the Humanities, a government agency; the Post eventually decided that this freedom would not be jeopardized and permitted its staff member to accept the fellowship.)

Does it make any difference what government agency is involved? For example, would the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (and within it, the U.S. Office of Education) - with the "domestic" mission of raising

the level of public enlightenment, broadly defined, through education - be more acceptable and less suspect than, say, the State Department or the Pentagon, each of which presumably has a not so hidden interest in "selling" its vision of U.S. foreign or national security policy?

Do mediating institutions such as universities, research organizations, and professional societies make any difference if they accept government money to undertake schemes involving the media and media professionals? If so, are some mediating institutions more acceptable than others?

6. Do we need a special window on the Third World?

There does seem to be a widely held view, even among responsible leaders of the American media, that the media do a far from effective job of reporting on and interpreting events in the Third World.20/ On the other hand, it is not always so clear what is news in these societies, let alone how best to cover it and report it. In fact, the question of Western media coverage of the Third World is a sufficiently serious question that it has now become politicized, as M. J. Roissant of the Twentieth Century Fund notes in a recent Fund study:

> Information is a critical commodity all over the world. As a consequence, a bitter dispute is now raging over news coverage of events in the Third World. Third World spokesmen have denounced Western newspapers, journals, and television outlets for their alleged sensationalism and anti-development bias. In reprisal, Western spokesmen have charged Third World governments with engaging in repressive acts and seeking to obstruct the free flow of information.21/

A Third World prospective on this issue is reflected in the following comment:

> Many young countries have fragile political structures that cannot withstand endless scrutiny by the news media of the shortcomings of those in power or the failures of economic and social development programs. Unfortunately for the cause of free communication of ideas, it is precisely the negative and unseemly side of life which many Western reporters and news media tend to harp upon when dealing with developments in young countries. Coups, corruption, poverty and calamities are the staple diet dished out by many news agencies in their coverage of Third World countries.22/

Another position taken by some Western observers of the conflict is that the real need is the look beyond the self-serving smokescreen generated by Third World political and

journalistic elites at the problems of ordinary people in these societies--"bare-foot reporting," so to speak, of a kind proposed by Georges-Henri Martin, Editor of La Tribune de Geneve in the next section of this report.

There is a general view among representatives of the American and other Western media that, even if the disease of neglect and distortion of the Third World by Western media has been correctly diagnosed, the cure would be worse than the disease. Reporting on a UNESCO meeting in Central America directed toward establishing a regional news agency, David Adamson observed in the London Daily Telegraph that the "former colonies want a free flow of air - but not of information." He went on to assert that "among the 'jollier ideas' thrown out at the UNESCO meeting was legalizing the arrest of foreign correspondents if their employer has published anything not to the taste of the country concerned."23/

The most thoughtful of the Western media recognize that there is a problem and that it is a complex and difficult one, even if solutions may not be readily apparent. Thus, the Washington Post commented editorially:

> One does not have to accept Third World charges that Western news agencies are cultural and political predators in order to understand a country's reluctance to have its picture of the world, and the world's picture of it, drawn entirely by foreigners who are sometimes sympathetic and knowledgeable, sometimes not, but who nevertheless are foreigners.24/

7. How will technology affect media coverage of the rest of the world in the 1980's?

No one seems to know but almost all observers of the impact of electronics and communications technology on the mass media in the 1980's agree that the changes will be profound. Custom-tailored newspapers printed to an individual's profile of interest? Home information centers with access to a storehouse of data on other countries and peoples? Magazines on videotape? All these are now or will soon become technically feasible.25/

What does seem likely is that channels for news will become increasingly pluralized, offering both challenge and opportunity to proponents of better media coverage of international affairs. This is surely a subject worthy of further investigation in view of the momentous changes which many feel are coming soon.

8. Does it really matter if the people are informed?

This is really an article of faith in a political democracy, a reaffirmation of that Jeffersonian ideal that the people, if properly and fully informed, will come down on the right side of the great public issues of the day.

There is a countervailing view, certainly harbored if not publicly expressed at one time or another by those in positions of power and responsibility over U.S. foreign and national security policy. If the people are too fully informed on some issues, they may generate political resistance to initiatives which are essential to protect vital national interests. Indeed, some would see that to be the major lesson of U.S. involvement in Vietnam; a weakening of national resolve to protect those interests as the public became more fully aware of what was going on there through the relentless efforts of the American media to tell the "big story."26/

B. Ideas For Action

Countervailing trends and influences surround the issue of the adequacy of American media coverage of the rest of the world and how to improve it. The cost of maintaining such coverage has increased exponentially in recent years. Public interest in foreign affairs is allegedly down just when it logically should be up if public interest is causally connected to issues effecting the daily lives of the citizenry. Reporting on and interpreting the rest of the world to Americans has become immeasurably more complex in recent years and will get more so as the Third World assumes an increasingly commanding position on the center stage of the unfolding drama of human history.

Recognizing that there are many possible positions which can be taken on the foregoing issues for debate, let us assume that there is a problem with American media coverage of international affairs and that something can be done about it. Here are some ideas for action, themselves surely worthy of further scrutiny and discussion.

1. Public understanding of international issues - increasing demand for media coverage of world affairs

Nowhere in recent years has the need for greater public understanding of the rest of the world been more eloquently stated than by Congressman Al Quie of Minnesota in the debate on the House floor over a proposed U.S. Office of Education program to strengthen citizen understanding of world affairs. In response to Birchite attacks on the proposed program as an insidious instrument for undermining American patriotism by injecting "one world" ideas into the American educational system, Quie raised the haunting question of whether we would have been spared the national trauma of Vietnam if the American people had been better informed about Vietnamese society and culture and understood more fully the issues involved from the vantage point of the Vietnamese people as well as ourselves.

This program was in fact passed by Congress and was funded for the first time last year (to the extent of $2 million dollars) under the somewhat misleading label of "Citizen Education for Cultural Understanding." The program makes grants to educational institutions to "increase the availability to students in the United States of information about the cultures, actions, and policies of other nations so that these students might make more informed judgements with respect to the international policies and actions of the United States," to quote from the official guidelines published in the Federal Register.27/ ("Students" are fortunately broadly defined to mean "any person enrolled in an educational program" because one major intent of this program is to strengthen the world understanding of citizens of all ages and not simply those studying in schools and colleges.) The priorities for the 1980 competition have been rewritten to give greater emphasis to media-related projects, a welcome step forward.

As we have already noted, the whole media and international affairs issue is one of supply and demand. It does little good to talk only about improving the supply, whether quantitatively or qualitatively, without addressing the other side of the equation, even though there is surely a connection, as we have also suggested, between the character of the supply and the nature of the demand.

The task at hand is how to frame concrete activities to increase public understanding of international issues, which are very likely to have the net effect of increasing demand for media coverage of world problems and regions. But because the media are an instrument par excellence for informing the public, they surely have a role to play in the process of increasing public understanding of these matters.

We are not lacking in current and recent initiatives to use the media as instruments for more formalized courses and systematic presentations on world issues, including programs on public and network television noted below in the next section of this report. Moreover, there are existing programs which have not yet been used for international topics but certainly could - for example, college-level credit courses using newspapers and television.

Here are four propositions identified as means or principles for increasing demand for more and better media coverage of world affairs which emerged from the Seven Springs Center Conference on the Media and International Affairs in June 1976 and which might serve as guidelines for framing more specific initiatives:

1. Improvement of quality as a means of stimulating demand.
2. Market research on what people know and are interested in finding out.
3. Selling the importance of knowledge on foreign affairs.
4. Focussing on the global-local dimension of international affairs (i.e., impact of foreign events on local communities) and the active interest in the human dimension to world affairs.28/

2. Increasing media use of university-based expertise in international affairs

Discussion at the various special sessions on the mass media and international affairs organized at different meetings of professional associations in international studies during the course of the project repeatedly brought to light instances of effective academy-media interaction, along with many instances of obstacles and problems. A determined effort should be made to stimulate demand by the media for university-based and other expertise in international affairs as an important instrument of improving the quality of media coverage of the rest of the world.

One concrete step would be to develop a series of guides to information sources on major world regions and salient international issues for the media. Related would be efforts, through informal contacts, to put the media in touch with key individuals in the academy who are intersted in and able to provide help to the media.

The strategy, whatever the particular means, must be focused on getting the media to recognize the value of using expertise in the academy. The trick, as one Latin Americanist experienced in working with the media expressed it at one of the project-organized meetings, is to "get your name on the roladex" of foreign editors and correspondents.

3. Strengthening professional competence and leadership in the media

a) "Pre-entry" programs designed to develop a double competence in prospective journalists (i.e., entry-level professional background in the media combined with specialized knowledge of some aspect of international affairs or some region of the world, including relevant language facility). These might include overseas training and internship opportunities and new sources of fellowship support (e.g., extending National Defense Foreign Language Fellowships to students or professionals in journalism). (There are some existing efforts of this character--e.g., the Columbia East Asian Journalists' Program, the University of California at Berkeley Professional Schools in India Program, etc.).

b) Mid-career programs for journalists in international affairs (possibly similar to the advanced program in international reporting formerly directed by John Luter at Columbia). A major media concern here seems to be whether individuals who acquire this kind of expertise will be effectively exploited when and if they return to their news organizations. It is possible to stipulate as a condition for such a fellowship a one-year period of continued service after the fellowship, but there needs to be recognition on the part of the management of the news organization that the individual returning will have new interests and skills which need to be utilized.

c) Background seminars on foreign areas and international issues on university campuses in this country and abroad for varying lengths of time (one week - six weeks) for reporters and editors. Related in character would be a national competition of small- and medium-sized newspaper editors to select 10 or 12 to spend three to six months abroad in a crisis area with an American Universities Field Staff-type person as "mentor."

d) Panels at national and regional professional meetings of newspaper editors and others who play key roles in the media, discussing coverage of international affairs, and stressing the importance of improving it. As a way of beginning, panel sessions of the "new era" in U.S. relationships with the rest of the world might be organized at annual meetings of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, National Conference on Editorial Writers, and Radio and Television News Directors Association. Another approach would be an Arden House-type conference for newspaper publishers, television station managers, and foreign affairs specialists along the lines of a similar venture of "The Frontiers of Science" organized a decade ago.

e) "In-house" seminars and other informal meetings of professionals in the media on a local or regional basis to explore emerging international issues. (The Boston situation demonstrates the need: 12 out of 14 professionals involved in the evening news programs on three commercial television stations have never been outside the United States.) Involvement of foreign counterparts (e.g., Egyptian and Israeli television broadcasters) in person or on video tape would enrich this kind of locally organized exercise in professional development. Emphasis should be placed on using locally available international affairs expertise in universities and elsewhere as well as on use of foreign correspondents (both those stationed in the U.S. and itinerants).

f) Formation of a "task force" to monitor and initiate strategic experiments with gatekeepers and professionals in the media.29/

4. Exploring the implications of changing information technology in the 1980's for media coverage of international affairs

Another point repeatedly emphasized in the panel sessions and discussions on the media and international affairs organized during the course of this project, particularly the Twin Lakes Consultation on the Media and the Academy, is that we are already experiencing - and will experience at an accelerating rate in the 1980's - major changes in information technology which will open up important new opportunities for strengthening U.S. media coverage of the rest of the world. An important first step would be to take stock of these changes with special reference to the possibilities they create for improving the quality (and quantity) of U.S. media coverage of international affairs.

These technological changes will clearly pluralize the channels through which information about the rest of the world flows to the American people. In that sense, changing technology is creating many more opportunities. At the same time, these technological changes will make it more and more difficult to attract an audience since there will be more and more competition for the attention of the viewer, listener, or reader.

Because of the rapid and substantial nature of the changes which are occurring in information technology, it is particularly important that an examination of these changes and their impact on the flow of information to the American people about the rest of the world should be undertaken at an early date in order to get consideration of this problem in on the ground floor, so to speak.

5. Other ideas and initiatives

a) Increasing media use of university-based and other expertise in area and international studies through media source guides on selected world regions and topics. These "guides" (perhaps modeled after the Columbia Journalism Review source guides on topics such as occupational health and safety, November-December 1974; the environment, June 1976; and U.S. population, July-August 1974), would provide a ready means of identifying expertise which the media could then tap on their own initiative, thus avoiding the difficulties of "special interest" intervention which arise when experts outside the media take the initiative. The source guides might then be pulled together in a directory of expert sources on foreign countries and foreign affairs generally, an idea which has drawn the strong endorsement of at least one experienced media professional in the foreign affairs field.30/

b) A guide to "good cultural usage" as a means of grappling with the problem of media stereotyping of foreign societies and cultures, particularly those of the Third World. The analogue which comes most immediately to mind here is Theodore M. Bernstein's Watch Your Language (New York: Atheneum, 1976), which grew out of Bernstein's in-house bulletin for the New York Times newsroom, Winners and Sinners.31/ The idea might be adapted as an exercise in journalism courses in international reporting, students being asked, as in a course exercise, to become "cliche hunters." Barry Rubin rightly adds a cautionary note regarding such initiatives, suggesting not that they would not be useful but that they are likely to be tied up with the larger question of relatively unbalanced media coverage of such world regions as Africa and Latin America.

There is a legitimate question as to whether U.S. media coverage reinforces the audience's stereotypes on Africa (primitiveness, natives with quaint customs, tropical jungles, etc.) and Latin America (constant revolutions, banana republics, siestas and sombreros, etc.) or whether they are intensified and survive because of a lack of coverage. The latter view seems more accurate, although it still gives little comfort.32/

c) A "Distant Early Warning" line in international news (i.e., a process for alerting news organizations to emerging international issues in terms of their relevance to or concern for the American people). One possibility might be a page in the Columbia Journalism Review or perhaps a publication by the National News Council. Sources for DEW-Line items would include Lester Brown's World Watch Institute, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, International Fact-Finding Center, and the Columbia University Research Institute on International Change and its

semi-annual Global Political Assessment. Video-taped assessments of emerging crises from various regions of the world would add an important dimension to this endeavor. (An initiative of this character has recently been taken by Atlas World Press Review with its regular feature, "Talk of Tomorrow.")

d) A "consortium correspondent" scheme to cover "second tier" locations throughout the world not now covered by an "objective American news source" (e.g., Indonesia, Pakistan, etc.). Such consortium correspondents should be in the AUFS-Institute of Current World Affairs mode, with extensive experience in the country or region, and knowledge of the language, together with the necessary communications skills. (The Institute of Current World Affairs recently initiated Overseas Journalists Program, while similar in intent, has been cast in the form of a training program for "pre-entry" professionals, suggesting that the "consortium correspondent" idea remains to be exploited.)

e) Creation of special foreign news sections, carrying background articles of analysis of international issues and other longer pieces. An increasing number of newspapers, as Barry Rubin notes, have been including special sections on food, fashion, social notes, sports, business, and the environment. A special foreign news section would help to redress what he calls "the derelictions of big city dailies - in Boston, Chicago, Philadelphia, San Francisco and other urban areas - which have a significant 'elite' audience for foreign news."33/

An idea along this line has emerged recently in World Paper, a Sunday supplement circulated internationally by a number of the world's leading newspapers. Similar in character is World Community, "a global supplement for a new economic order" sponsored by the U.N. and carried by a number of the world's leading newspapers (e.g., Le Monde, Die Presse, Indian Express, Jornal do Brasil, etc.). among which U.S. newspapers are conspicuous by their absence. In both instances, determined efforts need to be made to enlarge circulation in the U.S., the newspapers of which are excessively provincial in their response to such experiments in international journalism which expose readers to many different points of view.

f) Better utilization of visiting foreign journalists who come in droves to Washington but should have more contact with news organizations throughout the country. An additional way of tapping foreign expertise and perspective in interpreting world events--a series of monthly meetings sponsored by Atlas World Press Review at the Overseas Press Club in which foreign correspondents discuss a leading news development and which might be recorded for syndicated radio or public television use.

g) A conference to examine the obstacles to initiating in the U.S. a children's news program and how these obstacles can be overcome.

h) Greater use by newspapers of what they are already buying or which is accessible to them for nominal cost - e.g., the dispatches of the International Writers Service, a recently initiated news service in Washington which makes available to American newspapers articles by experienced foreign journalists on problems of other societies which are also found in the U.S. Similar opportunities exist with the output in the form of feature articles from the wire services and other news syndicates and sources such as the New York Times and Washington Post news services and Atlas World Press Review. All of these fall in the category of increasing foreign coverage with little or no increase in cost, thereby undercutting one of the standard media gatekeeper arguments against increasing such coverage - namely, economics.

i) Pluralizing international news flows through the expansion of Third World news agency subscribers among the U.S. media. A good example is Inter Press Service, a Third World news agency headquartered in Rome with extensive coverage of developing countries, especially in Latin America. While IPS has a number of subscribing newspapers in Europe, it has none in the U.S.

j) Encouraging the "non-traditional" or trade/profession/special interest media to give more attention to world issues related to their particular interest. An article in the Michigan Pig Farmer about hog raising in Africa is one way of enlarging U.S. media coverage of international affairs and American understanding of the rest of the world.

k) Better use of non-journalist sources of news about other world areas. Voluntary, religious, trade, and other organizations with overseas operations often collect considerable information about developments abroad which might be tapped by U.S. news organizations.

l) Yet to be tackled is a practical expression of Lester Markel's formulation that there are no more foreign affairs, all public affairs are immediate and local - i.e., stories on local U.S. community problems which examine the way in which these problems are created or shaped by developments external to the U.S. The most relevant conceptual formulation of this phenomenon is found in the work of Professor Chadwick Alger and his colleagues at the Ohio State University in their "Columbus In The World/The World In Columbus" project which seeks to examine the international relations of local communities.

6. Tackling the Third World problem in the American media

If there is a special problem for the American media in covering the Third World, as some media critics and responsible members of the media appear to agree, a case can be made for a series of initiatives focused on this problem. As useful a set of suggestions as they are these by Georges-Henri Martin, the distinguished editor of La Tribune de Geneve (some of which, to be sure, have already been cited in other contexts above):

1. The organization of seminars for the "gatekeepers" in television, radio, or newspapers, in order to stimulate the interest of editors and producers in developmental news.

2. The organization of hearings in national legislatures in developed nations or in the parliamentary committees or congressional committees on technical assistance and development, in order to make the public aware of the problems and prospects of the Third World. For the same purpose, the organization of government-sponsored programs of school lectures or "youth forums" with international officials or representatives of developing nations as speakers.

3. As recommended in the January 1978 issue of The Columbia Journalism Review, major newspapers, magazines, wire services, and television networks could send experienced reporters to live in villages in Asia, Africa, and Latin America for a period of between four and six months, each accompanied by a full-time, locally hired interpreter, and to report the findings in feature stories and photographs. I recommend that such an effort be coordinated with the 1979 meeting of the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development in Rome. This conference would give the mass media an opportunity to report on the daily life of the world's peasantry, who have been the point of departure for all the great contemporary revolutions.

4. I support the suggestion of Ambassador Abdelkader Chanderli that, whenever a project for technical cooperation is drawn up within the agencies of the United Nations, a budget should be set aside to finance information for those interested.

5. The information produced by the United Nations on development tends to stay in a "ghetto" consisting of UN and non-governmental experts who are sealed away from the public. I propose that a newsletter, modeled after the one developed by the Boy Scouts World Bureau, be created to report on the North-South

dialogue and aimed at gatekeepers, parliamentarians, and policy-makers. The North-South dialogue might be facilitated by using electronics less and air-mail communications more. And the mass media might make a greater effort to link international activities to local situations - for example, by showing that the UNCTAD conference on cocoa affected the lives of both the small planter in the Third World and the American schoolboy drinking his cup of hot chocolate.

Paraphrasing the late Lester Markel, I feel that development news is not foreign news, that it is real "local" news. To facilitate the North-South understanding, UN publications intended for the general public could be made available to travelers on trains and airlines.

6. Within professional organizations of journalists, special committees could be set up to monitor progress in the North-South dialogue and possibly to produce an annual survey of communications problems.

7. Editorial pages in Western dailies could be more widely opened to guest contributors from Third World countries.

8. A greater effort could certainly be made to cooperate with the various "institutes of communications" attached to all major universities in Third World countries, and particularly in both English- and French-speaking Africa.34/

Summing Up: A Recent Collation of Recommendations For Action

The October 1979 annual Strategy for Peace Conference of the Stanley Foundation organized one of the six discussions or study groups which met throughout the three-day conference on the subject of "News Media and Foreign Policy." Because this group included a number of experienced foreign correspondents and editors as well as others actively concerned with media coverage of international affairs, its examination of many of the issues being explored by this project was particularly authoritative. For this reason and because these deliberations were recent and therefore are still fresh, we include here in their entirety the recommendations of the Stanley Foundation Study Group on the Media and Foreign Policy. Striking are the numerous parallels between the recommendations growing out of this independent examination of the issues and the ideas for action emerging from the project on international studies and the mass media and set forth on the preceding pages, which were prepared (with minor subsequent revisions) prior to the Stanley Foundation Conference.

1. Improved survey data are needed about interest in international news. Data collection should focus on issue-related questions rather than on generalities, which tend to distort the extent of the public's interest in and knowledge of global issues.

2. Editors should seek out the local "angle" in international news. They should give more emphasis to "stories without boundaries" by sending reporters abroad to report on transportation, education, and other universal problems with immediate relevance to their communities.

3. The media could make greater use of world affairs experts in universities and other institutions for background on international issues. There is a need for directories of such sources; these might be prepared by press organizations and other interested groups.

4. The media should encourage U.S. educators to share the responsibility for creating a better understanding of international issues by strengthening language and area studies.

5. The media could increase diversity of reporting and opinion by opening op-ed pages, special broadcast segments, and magazine departments to material by foreign contributors.

6. The media should listen to Third World complaints about Western news dominance. Where these are found to be legitimate, the media should seek ways to minimize confrontation, preserving the essential conditions for free exchange.

7. The media should encourage private as well as public technical and educational aid to help strengthen journalism in the Third World.

8. In recognition of the basic importance of a free press, it would be in the mutual interest of the U.S. and Third World countries to increase the number of Third World correspondents in the U.S. and encourage exchange of journalists.35/

II The Media and the Academy in International Affairs: The State of the Connection

Examining the Connection

An important part of the world of the project has been to examine the media-academy connection in international affairs by soliciting ideas and experiences of university-based experts in language, area, and international studies, based on their relationships with the media, both on-campus (with schools and departments of journalism) and off-campus (directly with news organizations). Much of the concern expressed within the international studies community about the treatment of world regions and events by the mass media is directed toward the quality of such treatment, perhaps in recognition that there is relatively little which can be done about increasing the quantity of media coverage of international affairs without first improving the quality in order to attract a wider audience.

The media-academy connection is a very uneven one. At some institutions, there are extensive contacts and interaction, both on-campus with the school or department of journalism and off-campus with the media themselves. At other institutions there is almost no contact, and in a few cases, there is no interest in having contact. For the most part, however, programs and centers experiencing relatively little contact in the past have indicated a desire to find practical ways of increasing contact with the media in the future.

Among those institutions with considerable contact, it is possible to identify some "exemplary" institutional experiences which do seem to have had some impact on improving the quality of media coverage of international affairs. In virtually every instance in which there has been significant interaction with media organizations directly (i.e., not through on-campus schools or departments of journalism), the initiative for making use of university-based expertise in language, area, and international studies has come from the media.

The relationship from the other side of the connection is, needless to say, viewed somewhat differently. There is a feeling that academic specialists, being so preoccupied with their own particular areas of interest, often do not understand the bigger picture, let alone the constraints under which the media must operate in meeting deadlines and in compressing extremely complex issues into very limited space or time. There may even be just a hint of professional envy on the part of media professionals that

academic specialists enjoy the luxury of being able to stay with an issue and dig more deeply into it, while their counterparts in the media are forever confronted with uncompromising deadlines and a never-ending parade of issues which, like a kaleidoscope, change every day. This professional envy is no doubt reciprocated in some cases by some academics who look with at least a twinge of jealously at the vast audiences commanded by journalists.

Targets of Opportunity in Strengthening the Connection

These efforts to examine the media-academy connection suggest that in the short term the most promising route for increasing the quality of media coverage of world regions and global problems lies in greater utilization of university-based expertise in language, areas, and international studies by the media. However, demand for use of such expertise must come, for the most part, from the media. That in turn suggests that practical means must be found for stimulating such demands by increasing awareness within the media of the existence, location, and availability of various kinds of university-based expertise in international affairs and foreign societies and cultures.

Longer-term initiatives are also possible and need to be explored more fully, including various steps to strengthen the professional and intellectual background of journalists in language, area, and international studies and in raising levels of consciousness among media gatekeepers of the importance of qualitatively stronger coverage of world regions and events. Some of these possible initiatives, both short term and long term, have been examined above in the discussion of various ideas for action in improving media coverage of international affairs and strengthening the demand for such coverage. In the paragraphs following, some emerging points of interest and illustrative initiatives and responses will be noted briefly.

Citizen Continuing Education

The importance which mass media play in developing "civic competence" and strengthening "citizen performance" has been given increasing attention recently, in relation not only to international affairs but to public affairs generally. In what turned out to be something of a parting legacy from the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare of the last administration, the Office of Education embarked upon a citizen education project in 1976 and 1977, which generated a series of conferences and reports. One of these, New Directions in Mass Communications Policy: Implications for Citizen Education and Participation, observed that:

> Young people and adults derive information about public affairs from television, newspapers, radio, and magazines. The media act as intermediaries between the public and their officials and between various groups that compose local communities. And tne choices the media must make - what stories to cover and how to cover them - influence citizens' priorities, determining the issues about which they are concerned.36/

This report observes that the media are more likely to reinforce than change attitudes, values, and behaviors. With particular reference to the whole question of supply and demand for "foreign" news, "the media may not be successful much of the time in telling people what to think but...they are stunningly successful in telling their readers what to think about..."37/

Concern with citizen involvement in and understanding of public issues and the continuing "aging" of the American population has led the National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education, a U.S. government body with extensive private sector participation, to establish an Ad Hoc Committee on International Dimensions of Continuing Education, which held a meeting in Washington in late November 1978 to explore issues in the field with particular reference to the role of concerned government agencies and bodies such as the International Communication Agency, President's Commission on Foreign Languages and International Studies, U.S. Office of Education, and National Public Radio and Corporation for Public Broadcasting.38/

In the meantime, important initiatives are being taken to utilize the media as instruments of continuing education in both a structured and informal way. Thus, national network television was the vehicle for airing on the CBS Summer Semester in 1979 a 30-program series on "Asia: Half the Human Race" which was produced by the Asia Society in New York (and offered for college credit by Bergen Community College in New Jersey).39/

Another possibility which has only incidentally dealt with international issues and the changing character of the American connection with the rest of the world is the program of college credit courses offered through combined presentation of newspapers and television and radio by University of California at San Diego. Those involved in San Diego's newspaper course project have indicated a disposition to consider the possibility of developing future courses dealing more explicitly with world problems and regions and their impact on American society.40/

Less formal in character but directed toward the same goal of increasing citizen understanding of complex world issues is the Global Paper Series being undertaken on public television by the American Universities Field Staff. The first of these "The Fight For Food," was presented in November 1979.41/ Others are planned in the future. This series involves extensive use

of university-based and other experts on foreign areas, including the AUFS staff associates who are selected for both their knowledge of specific foreign areas and their communications skills.

In a similar vein is the series on international affairs, entitled World, being produced for the Public Broadcasting System by WGBH-TV in Boston. The series began in February 1978 with 13 programs on such topics as the ways television news shapes American perceptions of the rest of the world, South Africa's race policies, Vietnam 30 months after a 30-year war, and Third World tourism. In this series extensive use is made of foreign-produced and generated documentaries and film footage, while American academic and other experts are extensively consulted.42/

The Foreign Language Issue

The foreign language issue exists at two levels - public awareness of the importance of knowledge of other languages and the linguistic competence of American media professionals. With regard to the first problem, the Modern Language Association has established a Task Force on Public Awareness, which has commissioned a useful study on Foreign Languages and Cultures in the Media and which has come up with a number of suggestions for ways of encouraging the media to give more attention to and improve the qualitative character of their coverage of international news as a means of underscoring the relevance of the knowledge of other languages to the American ability to deal with the rest of the world.43/

On the matter of linguistic competence of American journalists, it should be recognized that evidence is not easily come by as nobody likes to advertise his or her weaknesses. There is evidence, nonetheless, from Japan that in the early 1970's, fewer than 10 out of 50 American correspondents stationed there had any knowledge of Japanese (and an even smaller number - perhaps as few as 4 or 5 - with a truly effective working command of the language so that they could use it in interviewing).44/ One is driven to ask how many Japanese correspondents stationed in Washington lack a working command of English.

But there is another side to this issue as well. Responsible foreign news operations of the American media are striving to strengthen their linguistic skills. The Foreign Desk of the Washington Post claims fluency in 14 foreign languages ranging from French and Arabic to Swahili and Vietnamese and passable competence in another half dozen, including Chinese and Japanese. While the picture with the Post staff correspondents abroad may not be quite as impressive, it is good and improving. Thus, the Post Hong Kong-based China watcher, who hopes soon to open up a Post news bureau in Peking, is reported to be "highly skilled" in Mandarin Chinese and was a professional translator

and interpreter at one time. The replacement for the Post's Cairo correspondent is fluent in reading and speaking Arabic, as is the successor to the current Post correspondent in Moscow fluent in Russian.45/

The Media as Instruments of Cultural and Educational Diplomacy

While the American media, with their tradition of keeping a healthy distance between themselves and government institutions the performance of which they seek to monitor, may not look with enthusiasm on this characterization, the fact is that they have become instruments of American foreign policy, particularly in bi-lateral cultural and educational diplomacy. Thus, what is perhaps the most active and longest standing initiative of this character--the United States-Japan Conference on Cultural and Educational Interchange--has active study groups and subcommittees working on problems of the news media, both print and broadcast.46/ Similar concerns exist within the framework of activities of the Indo-U.S. Subcommission on Education and Culture, and no doubt other bi-lateral commissions which encompass education and culture as well as other areas of cooperation such as science and technology.

Depending upon how such activities are conducted, they need not compromise the autonomy and integrity of the press and may indeed represent a proper source of governmental initiative in seeking to enlarge and strengthen American media coverage of the rest of the world by linking it in reciprocal fashion to the coverage of the United States by other countries. The newly established International Communication Agency has this issue on its agenda and will hopefully be exploring further initiatives for accomplishing these goals in the months and years ahead.

Research on the Media and on International Affairs

Universities are an obvious source of research on media problems in covering the rest of the world. Indeed, many, perhaps most, of the serious and systematic studies of this question have been undertaken by university departments of journalism and their faculty. A few of these are listed in the appendix of this report.

Simply by way of illustration of a far larger body of activity, Richard Cole of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill is heading the American research team for a

UNESCO-sponsored project being undertaken under the auspices of the International Association for Mass Communication Research to examine "how nations see each other, how the mass media report news about other nations and what images the media convey about another country."47/

In a similar vein is another international research project now in progress to survey trends in television content and viewer conceptions of social reality being undertaken by a group of research workers from the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania.48/ Virtually all other major American university schools of journalism - Columbia, Syracuse, Minnesota, Chicago, Michigan, Missouri, Stanford, etc. - are engaged in similar kinds of research.

Faculty associated with university centers and programs in international affairs are clearly a major source of background information for the media. An important segment of the findings of this research activity is published in "serious" journals on foreign affairs and world regions (such as Foreign Affairs and Foreign Policy, as well as numerous more explicitly academic journals) and is regularly read by media professionals in the international affairs field. Somewhat more directly related to linking the research competence of universities to the needs of the media are efforts (by no means confined to universities, however) to forecast emerging trends and issues - i.e., the kind of knowledge base on which a Distant Early Warning mechanism for the media on international affairs would have to be built. Some of these initiatives were noted above, among the the semi-annual Global Political Assessment of the Research Institute on International Change at Columbia University. A quite different perspective is given by the annual State of The Globe Report of the World Order Models Project, which includes faculty members from American and foreign universities; this report is published annually in Alternatives: A Journal of Wor'l Policy.49/

Pre-entry Professional Training

This is the most obvious area in which universities contribute to strengthening professional competence in the media, not only in international affairs but generally. Virtually all of the leading university schools of journalism have programs of courses in international affairs reporting. Here are four examples from leading schools of journalism among the dozens of such undertakings:

Columbia University, Graduate School of Journalism, New York, New York (East Asian Journalism Program)

University of Minnesota, School of Journalism and Mass Communications, Minneapolis, Minnesota (Seminar in International Communications)

University of Missouri, School of Journalism, Columbia, Missouri--(Economic and Political Reporting Programs in Hong Kong, Jerusalem, and London)

Northwestern University, Medill School of Journalism, Evanston, Illinois (Seminar on the Press in International Affairs)

A number of universities have also maintained joint programs with schools of international affairs or area studies programs, among them Columbia, Michigan, and Arizona, although for the most part student enrollment in these joint programs appears to be quite limited. Products of such programs typically end up with "double certification" - i.e., a professional degree in journalism and a degree or certificate in international affairs or some major world region. A few schools of international affairs also offer functional specialization in "international communications" which provides entry into media-related careers; the Columbia School of International Affairs is a good example.

Still in the pre-entry category but beyond the formal degree stage is the work of the Institute of Current World Affairs, which for several decades has been providing a highly selected group of individuals (some having recently embarked on professional careers in journalism) with opportunity for extended study of and writing on other areas of the world or international issues. This program is now being extended through the cooperative Overseas Journalist Program, through which the Institute, with support from a number of leading news organizations, will provide a limited number of young Americans with opportunity for intensive study of Third World regions now largely neglected by the American media. While on the study assignments, these Institute Fellows will be encouraged to write for the news organizations which are sponsoring the program.

Mid-Career Opportunities

There are a small but growing number of programs for journalists already embarked on their professional careers to strengthen their competence in a major world region or important international problem through a period of study at a major American university. The grand-daddy of these programs is generally recognized to be the Nieman Fellowship Program for Journalists at Harvard, but there are a number of other options, some of them listed below. Not all of these are devoted exclusively to international affairs but do include journalists with international interests who are selected in the first instance because of their individual promise and not because they have international interests.

Council on Foreign Relations, 58 East 68th Street, New York, New York 10021 (Edward R. Murrow Fellowship Program)

Columbia University, Graduate School of Journalism, New York, New York 10027 (Walter Bagehot Fellowship Program in Economic and Business Journalism)

Harvard University, Nieman Foundation for Journalism, Cambridge, Massachusetts (Fellowship Program)

University of Hawaii, Asian Studies Program, 1890 East-West Road, Honolulu, Hawaii 96822 (Gannett Fellowships in Asian Studies for American Journalists)

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan (Fellowship Program for Journalists in the Humanities)

Alicia Patterson Foundation, 122 East 42nd Street, New York, New York 10017 (Fellowship Program for Journalists)

Princeton University, Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Princeton, New Jersey (Fellowship Program in Economics for Working Journalists)

Stanford University, Department of Communication, Stanford, California 94305 (Professional Journalism Fellowships in the Humanities)

Tufts University, Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Edward R. Murrow Center on Public Diplomacy, Medford, Massachusetts 02155 (Journalist-in-Resident Program and other activities of the Center)

These programs appear to have a demonstratable value in improving individual competence of media professionals to report on and interpret complex world problems. The number of former Nieman Fellows who are now in the front rank of senior American correspondents and commentators of foreign affairs is impressive, although this may be as much testimony to the acumen of those who make the Nieman Fellow selections as to what the Fellows learned from spending a year at Harvard. Perhaps because they have such a high order of individual competence, persons selected for such fellowship programs often tend to move on to more responsible or more senior positions with other news organizations after completing their fellowships, generating an understandable concern on the part of their employers to see them accept such fellowships in the first place.

Conferences and Seminars on Media Coverage of International Affairs

An almost invariably cited tactic for trying to persuade media gatekeepers to give more attention to foreign affairs is to organize a conference or seminar or session at a professional meeting of media types. Any number of such ventures have been organized in recent years, many of them bringing together not only gatekeepers but university and media professionals in the foreign affairs field. Thus, the Center for Chinese Studies at the University of Michigan organized a small conference on American reporting on China in March 1978, followed by further discussion of the same issue at the semi-annual meeting of the China Council of the Asia Society in April. At virtually the same time as the China Council meeting in New York, Sarasota, Florida was the scene of a seminar on "The Media and Africa" organized by the Center for African Studies at the University of Florida and New College of the University of South Florida. Two months later, the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Edward R. Murrow Center for Public Diplomacy held its 1978 National Endowment for the Humanities Professions Seminar for Journalists on the subject "The Free Flow of Ideas: The International Historical and Cultural Dimension."

Many schools and departments of journalism, perhaps most, have some kind of on-going program of conferences or short-term seminars for media professionals which from time to time may address themselves to international issues. The same can be said of non-university organizations concerned with journalism and public affairs such as the American Press Institute, Washington Journalism Center, and Atlantic Institute for International Affairs in Paris. The last-named institution, with support from the German Marshall Fund of the U.S., offers a series of on-day seminars for the press on major international questions of special concern to Europe, North America, and Jap a.[50]/

And so it goes. Innumerable other initiatives of similar character might be mentioned, some of which are listed in the appendix to this report. Just what they all add up to its difficult to determine. They undoubtedly represent a leavening element in keeping front and center concern with the problem of more effective American media coverage of the rest of the world. A cursory inspection of those who participate gives the impression that participation tends to have a repetitive, if not in estuous, quality in that, all too often, the converted end up preaching to those already saved.

One important exception may be the work with the media of the China Council of the Asia Society. In addition to activities designed to assist "national" media in both print and broadcast journalism, the China Council, through its regional affiliates across the country, makes a continuing

effort to widen the circle of American media professionals concerned with developments in China and with better quality coverage of these developments. These regional China Councils typically are based at or have active participation from university programs on China, suggesting a possible pattern to be emulated on other major world regions in strengthening local and regional university-media links.[51] There are other exceptions as well, of course, various of which have been mentioned elsewhere in this report.

III The Media, the Academy, and American Understanding of World Problems

The Media as Our Window on the World

If we subscribe to Barry Rubin's proposition that the media have become "the most important single institution in shaping our views of the outside world," then anyone concerned with how the American people and their governmental and non-governmental institutions perceive other societies and respond to international issues must of necessity focus attention on how the media report on and interpret world events and their capacity for such reporting and interpretation.52/ The media themselves are not, of course, independent actors in the American social order but are both "culture-bound" and "culture generating":

> That is, they reflect the culture and reinforce it but are also capable of turning it in new directions. The culture says 'Consume!' and the media transmit that message - ingeniously, seductively, repetitively, persuasively...Be sure that the new car can reach 60 in ten seconds, even with the air conditioner on. Buy the lawn fertilizer with the weed killer built in. Then the times change and the messages change. Consume, yes, but also conserve. And watch for environmental effects. And the media, always there on the growing edge of cultural transformation, pass the new messages along with the same devotion to technical quality and the same servility to whatever is currently correct to believe in that particular society. The messages may be socially useful - or not. But the influence is there, the long reach into every home and hotel room and bar, the powerful reinforcing of enduring cultural ideas, themes, stereotypes coupled with the equally powerful capacity to mobilize altogether new patterns of belief and opinion almost overnight.53/

The culture-bound, event-centered character of the mass media clearly poses difficult problems in enlarging public understanding of complex, long-term world problems or other societies with equally complex traditions and contemporary institutions and values. We have already noted above the interplay between the media with their threshold of excitability and formal education with its attempts, however, imperfect, to provide a more sustained, structured understanding of the complex issues.

Given the limitations of the media in dealing with such complexity, it is scarcely encouraging for the cause of public enlightenment that some evidence (albeit far from conclusive) suggests the mass media may be at least as important as education, and perhaps more so, in shaping our understanding of the world. (Some of this evidence is cited in the bibliography in the appendix.) The mass media and other "non-formal" sources of information and ideas on world regions and problems appear to play, in some circumstances, a more significant role than formal courses of study in school and college in determining what students know about and the attitudes they have toward other societies and cultures.54/

Linking the Media and the Academy

The present project has sought to identify concrete steps by which the linguistic skills and specialized area knowledge of professionals in the mass media can be strengthened, as well as ways in which the foreign language and area expertise of faculty in language, area, and international studies programs in American universities can be more effectively utilized by the mass media in reporting and interpreting international events and complex world problems.

The problems of the media in maintaining quality and depth of such coverage are compounded by a continuing reduction in the number of professionals maintained overseas on a continuing basis by American media organizations. The figures cited above from Barry Rubin's study indicate just how substantial this quantitative decline has been.55/ The problem is not only one of numbers; qualitative indicators also give cause for concern. As we have noted, a survey of American journalists in Japan in the early 1970's found that fewer than 10 (out of well over 50) had a basic knowledge of the Japanese language (and an even smaller number with a real working command of the language).56/

The language and area knowledge of professionals in the mass media and the effectiveness with which specialized backgrounds of faculty members in language, area, and international studies are used by the media have a direct bearing on the depth and breadth of American understanding of other societies and international issues. This understanding, as a number of studies and surveys (several noted above) reveal, is seriously inadequate and urgently needs to be strengthened.

The Congress of the United States has recognized this need by first passing and then funding the new program to strengthen citizen understanding of world affairs (Section 603 Of NDEA Tital VI), discussed above. The Office of Education has also recognized this need through its current insistence that college

and university language and area and international studies centers devote a minimum of 15 per cent of their federal assistance to "outreach" activities to make the expertise in such centers more widely available to the American people.

The Academy and Public Understanding of World Problems

In the past two decades, knowledge and linguistic and analytical skills for understanding critical world regions and problems have increased markedly in American colleges and universities, particularly in relation to world areas long neglected by our institutions of higher education - namely, Russia, and East Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America. An important factor in this record of progress has been the investment of federal monies in language, area, and international studies in these institutions, notably, under NDEA Title VI.

Much less progress has been made in broadening awareness within American society as a whole. The indicators cited in the preceding section of this report, while less than conclusive, suggest a rather melancholy picture, not only in absolute terms but also in comparison with other countries. In short, there is important work to be done if we are to give practical expression to the Jeffersonian ideal that the people, when properly informed, will come to the right conclusions on the great public issues of the day, at least in the foreign affairs field.

The two professional fields which have the most significant multiplier effect in shaping the "world view" of Americans are education and the mass media. Considerable attention has been given to the strengthening of teacher training in area studies and international affairs, although many problems remain to be resolved. Very little in recent years has been given to the professional needs of journalists and others in the field of the mass media.

This project has sought to focus attention on increasing American understanding of critical world regions and problems by improving the quality and extent of reporting on and interpretation of international affairs by the American mass media - newspapers, magazines, radio, and television. It is clear that we do not lack opportunities. The task at hand is to begin exploiting these opportunities, thereby opening wider the American window on the world.

NOTES

1) Barry Rubin, International News and the American Media (The Washington Paper, Vol. V, No. 49, Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University), Beverly Hills and London: Sage Publication, 1977, p. 7. The source cited by Rubin for the statement in the last sentence of this quotation is Robert Batscha, Foreign Affairs News and the Broadcast Journalist, New York: Praeger, 1975.

2) American Council on Education, "The Media and World Understanding: An Agenda For Action" (background statement for conference on the implications of existing and emerging communication technologies for internationalizing American education, Wingspread, Johnson Foundation Conference Center, Racine, Wisconsin, December 8-10, 1975), p. 5.

3) Cited in American Council on Education, International Education Project, Education for Global Interdependence: A Report with Recommendations to the Government/Academic Interface Committee, Washington: The Council, n.d. (?-1975).

4) Ibid.

5) Cited by Lester Markel in an OpEd piece in the New York Times, October 7, 1975.

6) New York Times, July 8, 1975.

7) Twentieth Century Fund, A Free and Balanced Flow (Report of the Fund's Task Force on the International Flow of News and background paper by Colin Legum and John Cornwall), Lexington, Mass. and Toronto: Lexington Books, 1978, p. 29.

8) Rubin, op. cit., p. 23, citing figures taken from R. Kliesch, A Vanishing Species: The American Newsman Abroad, New York: Overseas Press Club Directory, 1975. David Anable cites somewhat different figures from Professor Kleisch of Ohio University--913 in 1963 and 676 in 1975, the difference probably being the inclusion of foreign nationals employed by U.S. media organizations. In either case, the decline is substantial. ("The News Business," Christian Science Monitor, April 5, 1978.) Professor Kleisch's most recent survey which will probably reveal a further decline, will not be released until 1980. (Telephone conversation with the author, January 11, 1980.)

9) "A Progress Report from the Wall Street Journal as the 1980s Begin," New York Times, January 14, 1980.

10) Judith V. Torney, A. N. Oppenheim, and Russell F. Farnen, Civic Education in Ten Countries, New York: Wiley, 1976.

11) Alfred O. Hero, Jr., "American Public Reactions to Development Assistance" (Study prepared for the Brookings Institution Steering Committee on a Possible New Organization to develop U.S. Public Support for AID), Washington, 1968, p. 54, as cited in Paul A. Laudicina, World Poverty and Development: A Survey of American Opinion, Washington: Overseas Development Council, 1973.

12) Study by the Educational Testing Service for the U.S. office of Education in the early 1970's. Although the study was stated to be ready for publication in 1976, it has not yet been released.

13) Rubin, op. cit., p. 65.

14) Louis Harris, Editor and Publisher, January 21, 1978 as cited in Anable, op. cit.

15) Ward Morehouse, A New Civic Literacy: American Education and Global Interdependence (Aspen Institute Program in International Affairs, Interdependence Series No. 3), Princeton, New Jersey: Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1975, pp. 17-18. The quotation in this passage is from Robert Hanvey, "An Attainable Globe Perspective" (unpublished paper prepared for the Center for War/Peace Studies, 1975, p. 2).

16) Letter to Ward Morehouse from James L. Rice, Chairman, Russian and East European Studies Center, University of Oregon, 27 December, 1978.

17) Correspondence with James Angle, Director of Outreach, University of Texas, December 1979.

18) This resistance is vividly illustrated in the rejection by one of the commercial television network news organizations of an offer by a leading university African studies center to help it improve its coverage of Southern Africa. (Correspondence with the author, December 1979.)

19) There is in fact a view held in some quarters that the American press are more often than not coopted by the U.S. government foreign policy establishment in their coverage of major international events. (Discussion by the author with a foundation official with extensive experience in working with the media, December 1979.)

20) Exchange between project director and the head of one of the network radio and television news organizations at a Columbia University seminar in February, 1979, in which the network news official concurred with the characterization of television news coverage of the Third World as being predominantly devoted to famines, earthquakes, riots, and coups, preferably bloody.

21) Twentieth Century Fund, op. cit., p. ix.

22) Hilary Ng'weno, in the Weekly Review (no date given), as quoted by Colin Legum and John Cornwall in their background paper to the Twentieth Century Fund report, op. cit., p. 40.

23) David Adamson, Daily Telegraph (London), July 28, 1976, as quoted in Legum and Cornwall, ibid., p. 52.

24) Editorial in the Washington Post, April 22, 1977, as quoted in Legum and Cornwall, ibid., p. 54.

25) David Anable, "The News Business: Technology and Newspapers," Christian Science Monitor, April 6, 1980, contains a useful account of these phenomena. See also Charles R. Seib, "Rethinking Newspaper's Role in a Video Age," Washington Post, March 10, 1978.

26) See, for example, Peter Braestrup, The Big Story: How the American Press and Television Reported and Interpreted the Crisis of Tet 1968 in Vietnam and Washington, Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1978.

27) Federal Register, May 12, 1978.

28) Conference on the Media and International Affairs, "Improving the Quality, Balance, and Relevance of Information on International Affairs through the Mass Media: Summary of Ideas for Action" (revised draft report of Seven Springs Center Conference, June 11-12, 1976).

29) These and other ideas for action below have been adapted from the Seven Springs Center conference report cited in note 28.

30) Letter from Philip Foisie, Assistant Managing Editor of the Washington Post, to Ward Morehouse, January 5, 1979.

31) Such in-house bulletins on good and bad reporting are not confined to the New York Times. See, for example, the Washington Post Stylus, produced by the retired Post editor, Al Friendly.

32) Rubin, op. cit., p. 53.

33) Ibid., p. 65.

34) Twentieth Century Fund, op. cit., pp. 13-14. The Fund is taking its concerns with the Third World Press issue one step further by establishing, together with the International Institute of Communications in London, "an independent, international committee to monitor and evaluate proposals for resolving the dispute over the international flow of information between industrialized countries and the Third World" (joint Fund-IIC press release, n.d., ?-December 1979).

35) Report of the Annual Strategy for Peace Conference (Airlie House, Airlie, Virginia, October 1979), Muscatine, Iowa: The Stanley Foundation, forthcoming.

36) Larry Rothstein, New Directions in Mass Communications Policy: Implications for Citizen Education and Participation, Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education (NEW Publication No. OE-78-07003), 1978. The quotation is from p. iii of the Foreword by Elizabeth Farquhar, Coordinator of the USOE Citizen Education Staff.

37) Rothstein, ibid., p. 5. This observation was made specifically with reference to political campaigns.

38) National Advisory Council on Extension and Continuing Education, "Report of Highlights of Ad Hoc Committee Meeting on International Dimensions and Continuing Education, November 27-28, 1978," Washington: The Council, 1978.

39) The Council on International and Public Affairs published the Viewer's Guide for the CBS/Asia Society Summer Semester Series under the title, Asia: Half the Human Race.

40) Letter from Kiki Skagen Munshi, Program Development Coordinator, National Media Courses, University Extension, University of California at San Diego, to Ward Morehouse, December 28, 1978.

41) American Universities Field Staff and Metropolitan Pittsburgh Public Broadcasting, Inc. (WQED-TV), The Fight for Food (discussion leader's guide and resource packet), Global Paper Series, Hanover, New Hampshire and Pittsburgh: AUFS and WQED, 1978.

42) WGBH, World: Pictures from a Small Planet (press reviews for the 1978 season), Boston: WGBH Educational Foundation, 1978.

43) Edward Keller and Ronald Roel, "Foreign Languages and Cultures in the Media: Report to the MLA/ACLS Task Force on Public Awareness," Philadelphia: Annenberg School of

Communications, University of Pennsylvania, September 29, 1978; Modern Language Association/American Council of Learned Societies, "Report of the Task Force on Public Awareness," New York: MLA. 1978.

44) Reported by Frederick Yu, Associate Dean of the Columbia University School of Journalism, in a conversation with the author. Similar evidence, although the numbers are not as extreme, has been reported to the author by an American Specialist on the Soviet Union knowledgeable about the American press corps in Moscow.

45) Letter from Philip Foisie of the Washington Post, op. cit.

46) See recommendations of the Nineth United States-Japan Conference on Cultural and Educational Exchange (CULCON), in The Japan Foundation Newsletter, October-November 1978, pp. 12-14. See also note 19 above.

47) "UNC Prof. to Head Team Studying U.S. Foreign Media," Durham Morning Herald (North Carolina), December 4, 1978.

48) George Gerbner, Larry Gross, and Nancy Signorielle, "Cultural Indicators: A Research Project on Trends in Television C ntent and Viewer Conceptions on Social Reality," Philadelphia: Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, 1978. Other instances of such research on the media are cited in William L. Rivers, Wallace Thompson, and Michael J. Nyhan, compilers, Aspen Handbook on the Media: A Selective Guide to Research, Organizations and Publications in Communications (1977-1979 edition), New York and London: Praeger and the Aspen Foundation for Humanistic Studies, 1977. For suggestions on research and many other aspects of the question of media coverage of international affairs and the role of universities in improving that coverage, see letter from Robert Lindsay, Professor of Mass Communication and International Relations, School of Journalism and Mass Communication, University of Minnesota, 26 December 1978.

49) Columbia University, Research Institute on International Change, Global Political Assessment (Semi-annual), New York: The Institute; World Order Models Project, State of the Globe Reports (annual in Alternatives: Journal of World Policy), New Delhi and New York: Centre for the Study of Developing Societies for World Order.

50) For an account of the Atlantic Institute seminars for the press, see the Institute's Newsletter, November 1978, pp. 13-15. The German Marshall Fund has supported a number of other activities to strengthen international affairs coverage by the media; see the GMF report for 1972-1972 and its monthly "Reports on Current Activities," Washington: The Fund.

51) The work of the China Council with the media is described in the ocassional Council newsletter, China Council Report. See particularly the summer 1978 issue, the lead article of which is "The American Media and China" (New York: The Council).

52) Rubin, op. cit., p. 7.

53) Hanvey, op. cit., pp. 5-6.

54) See Barry K. Beyer and E. Perry Hicks, Images of Africa: A Report on what American Secondary School Students know and believe about Africa South of Sahara, Pittsburgh: Africa Social Studies Project, Carnegie-Nellon University, 1968, whose testing of secondary school students before and after a formal course of study on Africa suggests that stereotypes about that continent as a land of jungles, wild animals, and pygmies generated by television programs and movies persist even in the face of formal instruction about Africa in the schools. Similar evidence can be found in Harold Isaac's classic study, Images of Asia: American Views of China and India, New York: Harper, 1972 (first published 1958).

55) Rubin, op. cit., p. 23. See also note 8 above. As another illustration, in the mid-1970's the Westinghouse Broadcasting Corporation dismantled its entire staff of overseas correspondents.

Appendix A

Bibliography of Studies and Surveys on the Mass Media and International Affairs

A. Almaney, "International and Foreign Affairs on Network Television News," Journal of Broadcasting, 1970 (14).

American Council on Education, "The Media and World Understanding: An Agenda for Action" (Background statement for conference on the implications of existing and emerging communication technologies for internationalizing American education, Wingspread, Johnson Foundation Conference Center, Racine, Wisconsin, December 8-10, 1975).

American Council on Education, International Education Project, Education for Global Interdependence: A Report with Recommendations to the Government/Academic Interface Committee, Washington: The Council, n.d. (?-1975).

David Anable, "The News Business - What's Next," Christian Science Monitor, April 4-6, 1978 (three-part series).

Robert Batscha, Foreign Affairs News and the Broadcast Journalist, New York: Praeger, 1975.

Lee B. Becker, "Foreign Policy and Press Performance," Journalism Quarterly, Summer, 1977 (Vol. 54, No. 2), pp. 364-368.

Barry K. Beyer and E. Perry Hicks, Images of Africa: A Report on What American Secondary School Students Know and Believe about Africa South of Sahara, Pittsburgh: Africa Social Studies Project, Carnegie-Mellon University, 1968.

John E. Bowes, Alex S. Edelstein, Sheldon M. Harsel, Information Societies: Comparing the Japanese and American Experiences, Seattle, Washington: University of Washington International Communications Center, 1978.

Peter Braestrup, The Big Story - How the American Press and Television Reported and Interpreted the Crisis of Tet 1968 in Vietnam and Washington, Garden City, New York: Anchor, 1978.

Braestrup attacks inaccurate and belatedly corrected reporting on the Tet offensive ("capture" of U.S. embassy, "disintegration" of South Vietnamese army, etc.), saddling most of the blame on editors in Washington and New York. He especially scores Newsweek and CBS Evening News for biased, inaccurate, and overly pessimistic reporting.

He also assails the general methodology of the U.S. media's reporting on the Vietnam War, i.e., ignoring the country and its culture, even its army, in favor of U.S. activities and ambitions there. The fact that until 1968 no American newsman spoke Vietnamese, according to Baestrup, illustrates the confines of reporting from foreign "hot spots" if journalists are not properly prepared.

C. Bray, "The Media and Foreign Policy," Foreign Policy, Fall, 1974 (16).

Donald R. Browne, "International Television Programing, If People Could Have It, Would They Watch It?" (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism, 57th, San Diego, August 18-21, 1974.)

Center Focus, "The Media and Celam III," News From the Center (Issue 30), March, 1979.

A thoughtful commentary on the interaction of actors and the media at Celam III, a major ecclesiastical conference in 1979. While the assembled bishops seemed to show "excessive respect," they also were condescending towards the hordes of journalists (3,000 plus). Instead of using the media to spread the "Good News," they relied on "pious generalizations" which created bad feelings among the press.

Why such evasiveness? The author seems to think that many of the bishops were afraid to expose their true thoughts to the mass media, and thus created obstacles to shield their deliberations. Public understanding of the issues and events at Celam III was the ultimate casualty.

Conference on the Media and International Affairs, "Improving the Quality, Balance, and Relevance of Information on International Affairs, through the Mass Media: Summary of Ideas for Action," revised draft report of Seven Springs Center Conference, June 11-12, 1976.

John Cornwell and Colin Legum, "A Free and Balanced Flow" (Background paper and report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on the International Flow of News), Lexington, Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1978.

While insisting that attempts to correct the balance and quality of news by controlling the news flow are dangerous and counter-productive, the Task Force makes two major recommendations:

1) "The establishment of a private body, composed of independent journalists and specialists from both the developed and developing countries, to monitor, evaluate, and report suggestions and proposals for dealing with a free and more balanced flow of information," and

2) "The establishment of a Multinational News Agency (MNA) that would be supported by news agencies of both developed and developing countries."

W. Phillips Davison, "Diplomatic Reporting: Rules of the Game," Journalism of Communications, Autumn 1975.

Alex S. Edelstein, The Uses of Communication in Decision-Making: A Comparative Study of Yugoslavia and the United States, New York: Praeger, 1974.

Glen Fischer, American Communication in a Global Society, Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex, 1979.

Philip Foise, "A New Line on the News," in Of the Press, By the Press, For the Press, Washington: Washington Post, 1974.

Herbert J. Gans, Deciding What's News - A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek & Time, New York: Pantheon, 1979.

Gans' thesis is that foreign news is shaped by the excessive self-centeredness of reporters, their employers, and their audiences, and that U.S. reporting on world affairs is much less objective than domestic reporting.

Gans ultimately contends that "American foreign news is...only a variation on domestic themes." The bulk of this study shows how these domestic themes become and remain news, with sections on story, suitability, major actors, ideology and values, profits and audiences, and censorship.

George Gerbner, Larry Gross, and Nancy Signorielli, "Cultural Indicators: A Research Project on Trends in Television Content and Viewer Conceptions on Social Reality," Philadelphia: Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, 1978.

Gilbert M. Grosvenor, Editorial, National Geographic, Washington, March, 1979 (Vol. 155:3).

Grosvenor succinctly lays out the causes and perils of the proposed "NIIO," and warns that the natural "suspicion and resentment of any foreigner with a notebook or camera" often encountered by his employees is growing because of the Third World's increasing awareness that "Western journalists can enhance or tarnish their image, advance or retard their aims."

To counter this groundswell of distrust, he assures his readers and subjects that National Geographic copy is thoroughly checked by "experts" and that governments are given full opportunity to "comment on the factuality of material." Grosvenor sees this method of cross-checking and response as preferable to "hand-cuffing journalists in the field."

Jonathan F. Gunter, "An Introduction to the Great Debate," Journal of Communication, Autumn, 1978 (Vol. 28:4), pp. 142-156.

Robert Hanvey, "An Attainable Globe Perspective," unpublished paper prepared for the Center for War/Peace Studies, 1975.

Alfred O. Hero, Jr., "American Public Reactions to Development Assistance," prepared for the Brookings Institution Steering Committee on a Possible New Organization to Develop U.S. Public Support for AID, Washington, 1968.

Ronald G. Hicks and Avishag Gordon, "Foreign News Content in Israeli and U.S. Newspapers," Journalism Quarterly, Winter, 1974 (Vol. 51:4), pp. 639-644.

J. Hohenberg, Foreign Correspondents, New York: Columbia, 1964.

International Association for Mass Communications Research, International Survey of Mass Media and National Images of Other Countries (sponsored by UNESCO), in progress. (American team studying U.S. media headed by Richard R. Cole, School of Journalism, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina.)

Harold Isaac, Images of Asia: American Views of China and India, New York: Harper, 1972.

H. Johnson, "The Irreconcilable Conflict between Press and Government," in Thomas Franck and Edward, Secretary and Foreign Policy, New York: Oxford, 1974.

S. Johnson, "To China with Love," Commentary, June, 1973.

Edward Keller and Ronald Roel, "Foreign Languages and Cultures in the Media: Report to the MLA/ACLS Task Force on Public Awareness," Philadelphia: Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, September 29, 1978.

R. Kliesch, "A Vanishing Species: The American Newsman Abroad," Overseas Press Club Directory, 1975.

Paul A. Laudicina, World Poverty and Development: A Survey of American Opinion, Washington: Overseas Development Council, 1973.

John A. Lent, "Foreign News in the American Media," Journal of Communication, Winter, 1977 (Vol. 27:1), pp. 46-51.

John A. Lent, "International News in United States Media: Myths, Stereotypes and Realities" (Paper presented at "New Trends in Teaching Asia Workshop," Temple University, Ambler Campus, October 24, 1975), 17 p.

John T. McNelly, "International News for the Third World Masses," Journal of Communication, Spring, 1979.

Modern Language Association/American Council of Learned Societies, "Report of the Task Force on Public Awareness," New York: MLA, 1978.

Ward Morehouse, A New Civic Literacy: American Education and Global Interdependence, Princeton, New Jersey: Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1975.

R. Morris, "Foreign Policy: Quarantined for the Campaign," Columbia Journalism Review, November-December, 1976.

Kaarle Nordenstreng and Herbert I. Schiller, National Sovereignty and International Communication, Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex, 1979.

William Read, "Multinational Media," Foreign Policy, Spring, 1975 (18).

John Richardson, Jr., "The Mass Media and Cultural Exchange," International Educational and Cultural Exchange, Winter, 1978 (Vol. 13:3), pp. 3-4.

Rosemary Righter, Whose News - Politics, the Press and the Third World, New York: New York Times Books, 1978, 292, pp., w/Index.

A good summary of the communications struggle, with useful mini-histories of A.P., U.P.I., Reuters and Agence France Press. "Realities of the Market-place" and Third World distaste for Western-style reporting are assigned the blame for closing the "media-window."

Righter also shows how well-informed Western journalists often slant their work against Third World critics when they address the basic problems and issues. Her observations, such as how Western emphasis on "hard news" lends itself to "coups and disasters" coverage of the Third World, are illuminating.

William L. Rivers, Wallace Thompson, and Michael J. Nyhan, compilers, Aspen Handbook on the Media: A Selective Guide to

Research, Organizations and Publications in Communications (1977-79 edition), New York and London: Praeger and the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies, 1977.

Mort Rosenblum, Coups and Earthquakes - Reporting the World for America, New York: Harper and Row, 1979.

Largely a collection of horror and humor stories intended to expose the travails of foreign journalists in the jet and satellite age.

Rosenblum, the editor of the International Herald Tribune, asserts that careful reporting and meaningful analysis from overseas is as often as not "spiked" by the gatekeepers - both because of space consideration and lack of interest by their viewers and readers. Other problems helping to close the media window: a declining press corps abroad (2,500) just after WWII to 430 in the mid-1970's); rising costs ($80,000 to $140,000 per journalist abroad, yearly); and "bionic reporting," whereby the dutiful foreign journalist, in hot competition with his peers, "often ends up in places he has never seen before, with no knowledge of the language; the customs or the background to the study they are covering"; and Third World despots who both manipulate and cow the media.

To help reverse the sagging U.S. ability to cover foreign news, Rosenblum would like to see a new kind of correspondent who concentrates on several significant issues a year.

Larry Rothstein, New Directions in Mass Communications Policy: Implications for Citizen Education and Participation, Washington: U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of Education, 1978 (HEW Publication No. OE-78-07003).

Barry Rubin, "How Others Report Us: America in the Foreign Press," The Washington Papers (Number 65), Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1979.

Barry Rubin, "International News and the American Media," The Washington Papers (Number 49) Washington, D.C.: Center for Strategic and International Studies, Georgetown University, 1977.

In addition to an excellent summary of reasons why the media "window" is closing, such as declining numbers of correspondents, Rubin advocates, "special foreign news sections, carrying analysis articles and longer pieces," including longer background stories and regular columns by a "fresh elite."

Timothy Schlitz, et al. "Perspective of Managing Editors on Coverage of Foreign Policy News," Journalism Quarterly, Winter, 1973 (Vol. 50:4), pp. 717-721.

Dennis Schroeder, "A Survey of Coverage of Third World Affairs in Canadian Newspapers and Magazines," Ottawa: Canadian Councio for International Cooperation, 1978.

Vernone M. Sparkes and Gertrude Joch Robinson, "International News in the Canadian and American Press: A Comparative News Flow Study" (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism, 59th, College Park, Maryland, August 1976).

Judith V. Torney, A. N. Oppenheim, Russell F. Farnen, Civic Education in Ten Countries, New York: Wiley, 1976.

M. Warner, "TV Coverage of International Affairs," Television Quarterly, 1975.

John Wilhelm, "The Re-appearing Foreign Correspondent: A World Survey," Journalism Quarterly, Spring, 1963.

The first of Wilhelm's surveys on the number of U.S. correspondents abroad. His series of studies show an increase in the mid-sixties, followed by a decline to the present (see next entry).

John Wilhelm, "The World Press Corps Dwindles: A Fifth World Survey of Foreign Correspondents" (Paper read at the International Division Session of the Association for Education in Journalism Convention, Carbondale, Illinois, August 22, 1972).

Appendix B

Annotated Listing of Key Conferences, Meetings and Other Initiatives Related to the Mass Media and International Affairs

Recent Conferences and Meetings

"The Media and World Interdependence," Seven Springs Center, Mt. Kisco, New York, June 11-12, 1976. The seminal conference for this project, which included representatives from foundations, academia and the media. Problems and possibilities of U.S. reporting on world affairs were discussed and the outlines for this project sketched.

"Latin America, the United States and the World of the 1980's," First Annual Conference for Senior Editors, Woodrow Wilson Center, Princeton University, September 22-23, 1978. This conference brought together editors, professors and government officials for discussions on Latin American affairs.

"Third World Press Coverage," a session of the Columbia University Seminar on Public Communications, March 12, 1979, which focused on various problems currently hampering high quality reporting of world news in the U.S. media. Third World grievances and the experiences of various American correspondents were extensively discussed.

"The Mass Media and International Affairs," session held at the Int rnational Studies Association Annual Meeting, Royal York Hotel, Toronto, March 23, 1979. The project director met with international studies faculty to discuss ways of improving U.S. reporting of international affairs.

"The Mass Media and Asian Studies," session held at the Association for Asian Studies Annual Meeting, Los Angeles, Hilton, March 30, 1979. The project director met with Asian studies faculty to explore ways of improving U.S. reporting on Asian and world affairs.

"The Mass Media and Latin American Studies," session held at the Latin American Studies Association Annual Meeting, William Penn Hotel, Pittsburgh, April 6, 1979. The project director met with faculty in Latin American studies to discuss ways of improving U.S. reporting on Latin American and world affairs.

DEPTH Workshop, held at the Institute of World Affairs, Salisbury, Connecticut, September 12-15, 1979. This workshop brought together United Nations personnel, editors and journalists from around the country, faculty from several universities, and correspondents from various developing countries to discuss ways of improving international communications.

Consultation on the Media and the Academy in International Affairs, held in conjunction with the DEPTH Workshop, Salisbury, Connecticut, September 12-14, 1979. A strategy planning meeting of key individuals in academia, the media and non-governmental organizations which mapped out innovative ways to implement recommendations cited in this report and related studies intended to improve international communications.

"Latin America, the United States and the World of the 1980's," Second Annual Conference for Senior Editors, Woodrow Wilson Center, Princeton University, September 28-29, 1979. The second installment of a briefing-seminar on Latin American affairs involving editors, professors and government officials.

"The New International Information Order Workshop," Church Center, U.N. Plaza, October 9, 1979. A background briefing and exploratory dialogue on the proposed New International Information Order, organized by the Inter Press Service-Third World News Agency.

"The Media and U.S. Foreign Policy," session held at the Stanley Foundation 20th Anniversary Conference on "Strategies for Peace," Airlie House, Virginia, October 26-27, 1979. This meeting explored the impact of the media on foreign policy, the declining number of American journalists abroad, and media-government relations.

"The U.S., the Media and Latin America: Mutual Images," Southern Illinois University, November 30-December 1, 1979. Film images of Latin America, press coverage of the Nicaraguan crisis and general news coverage of Latin America were the major themes of this conference.

"The Media and the International Crisis: Iran and Afghanistan," a session of the Columbia University Seminar on Public Communications which features high-level executives of the New York Times and CBS News, and explored the behind-the-scenes problems and dynamics of recent reporting on and from Iran and Afghanistan. Much of the meeting was spent discussing possible ways of improving the area knowledge and linguistic capabilities of the U.S. foreign press corps.

Other Initiatives

African Media Center at Michigan State, directed by the Michigan State African Studies Center with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities. The Media Center is currently evaluating all audio-visual materials on Africa which are circulated in schools, colleges and communities around the country. (African Media Center, Michigan State University, East Lansing, Michigan 48824.)

"Asia: Half the Human Race," CBS Summer Semester 1979, a telecourse with accompanying text developed by CBS, the Asia Society, and the Council on International and Public Affairs which reviewed the history of all Asian countries and discussed recent trends and developments. (Council on International and Public Affairs, Suite 1231, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y. 10017.)

"Barefoot Journalists," a new breed of correspondents who live in rural areas in developing countries to experience directly and report on life in the Third World. (Tribune de Geneve.)

"The Classroom and the Newsroom," a continuing education and college-level curriculum project at the University of Indiana designed to help participants understand how the media shapes their perceptions of society and the news, so that they can become "discriminating" news readers and watchers. Workshops and seminars for teachers are included as well. (The Citizen and the News Project, The Poynter Center, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana 47405.)

"Courses by Newspaper," college-level courses in newspapers, developed and administered by the University Extension, University of California, San Diego, with funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities. (University Extension, X-001, University of California, San Diego, California 92093.)

Inter Press Service-Third World News Agency, an international news agency working to expand and improve western coverage of Third World news and vice versa. (Inter Press Service: U.S.A., United Nations Office, New York, N.Y. 10017.)

"International Expertise Directory," and "International Events Calendar" for regional media, developed by the University of Wisconsin, Madison, Department of International Studies and Programs. (1410 Van Hise Hall, 1220 Linden Drive, Madison, Wisconsin 53706.)

International Writers Service, an organization which provides feature-length articles, primarily on Europe, to interested parties who want more in-depth reporting on international affairs than is usually available through the major news agencies.

(International Writers Service, 1220 National Press Building, Washington, D.C. 20045.)

Joint Degrees in Journalism and International Affairs, such as the Columbia University program, which requires acceptance at both the School of International Affairs and the School of Journalism. Students may also receive a Degree in International Affairs with a Specialty in Communication and Journalism. (School of International Affairs or School of Journalism, Columbia University, New York, N.Y. 10017.)

Mid-Career Fellowships for Journalists, such as the Lucius W. Nieman Fellowships at Harvard University, for non-credit study in any graduate or undergraduate school of the University. (Nieman Foundation for Journalism, Harvard University, Walter Lippman House, One Francis Avenue, Cambridge, Massachusetts 02138.)

National Public Education Network, the China Council of the Asia Society's vehicle for reaching the public. Funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Education Network disseminates information on Chinese history and current Chinese affairs to the media. (The China Council, 1785 Massachusetts Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036.)

World, a series of educational programs focussing on various international themes, such as elections in New Guinea, Soviet T.V., Swedish society, and refugees in Hong Kong. Produced by WGBH Boston for the Public Broadcasting Service, with funding from the Ford Foundation, the German Marshall Fund of the United States and the Corporation for Public Broadcasting. World has run for three seasons as of early 1980. (World, WGBH, 125 Western Avenue, Boston, Massachusetts 02134.)

World Paper, a quarterly paper contributed to by journalists around the world and carried as an insert to host papers on six continents. It focuses on issues of global concern and interest, such as international politics and economics, pollution, the arts, science, etc. (World Paper, 8 Arlington Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02116.)

World Press Review, a monthly magazine which reviews the world press by excerpting feature-length news reports and analyses, editorial comments, and political cartoons. (World Press Review, 230 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10017.)